



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

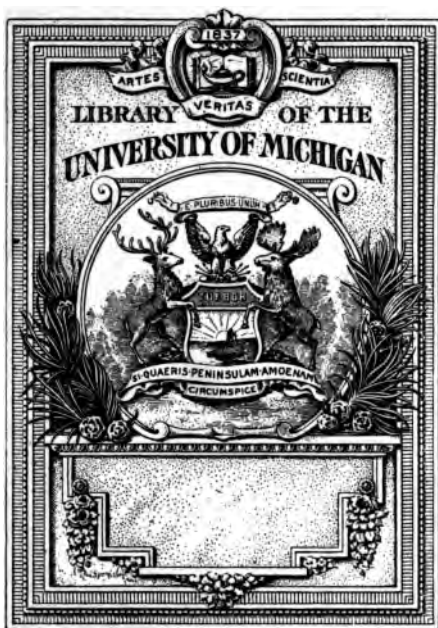
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

312.95

1908

WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS
WEBSTER'S
BUNKER HILL ORATION
CLARK





312.95
.1908



The Scribner English Classics

EDITED BY

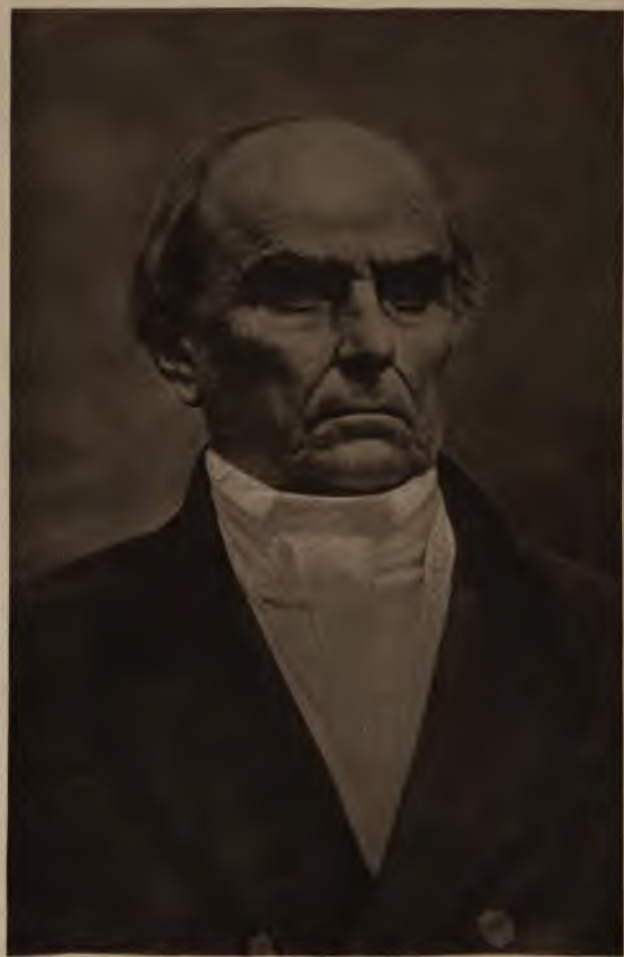
PROFESSOR F. H. SYKES

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

WEBSTER'S BUNKER HILL ORATION

EDITED BY PROFESSOR T. A. CLARK



Daniel Webster

The Scribner English Classics

George
WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL
= ADDRESS

WEBSTER'S BUNKER HILL
ORATION



EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

THOMAS ARKLE CLARK, B. L.

DEAN OF UNDERGRADUATES AND PROFESSOR OF
RHETORIC, THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1908

Copyright, 1908, by
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS



CONTENTS

	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	iv
INTRODUCTION :	
GEORGE WASHINGTON	v
TEXT. WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS	3
NOTES	23

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WASHINGTON

EDITIONS :

- "Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States." Reprint from the original MS. By James Lenox. New York, 1850.
- "An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address." By Horace Binney. Philadelphia, 1859.
- "Writings." Collected and edited by W. G. Ford.
- "Writings." Selected and published from the original MSS., with a life of the author and illustrations. By Jared Sparks.
Annotated school editions. By C. R. Gaston, F. N. Scott, Horace Scudder, W. T. Peck.

LIFE :

- "George Washington." Article in "The Encyclopædia Britannica." By Alexander Johnston.
- "Life of Washington." By Edward Everett.
- "Life of George Washington Studied Anew." By Edward Everett Hale.
- "Life of George Washington." By Washington Irving.
- "Washington and His Country." Abridged for the use of schools. By John Fiske.
- "George Washington, an Historical Biography." By H. E. Scudder.

INTRODUCTION

I

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at Pope's Creek, a small tributary to the Potomac River, Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732. His ancestors were well-born Englishmen, though, as Edward Everett says of him, "He throws back far greater glory than he can inherit." The first to come to America was John Washington, who settled in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1657. He became known soon as a successful planter, held the office of county magistrate, and rose to the rank of colonel in the Indian wars. His grandson, Augustine, was the father of George Washington. Augustine Washington was married twice. George was the first child of Mary Ball, the second wife. Soon after George Washington was born, his father moved from Westmoreland County to Stafford County on the east bank of the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg. Here he died in 1743.

Young Washington's training and education were, therefore, early left in the hands of his mother. She was, however, a woman of the greatest energy and good sense, and was well fitted to discharge her responsibilities. The schools of America were in those days very crude and inefficient, and most Americans of means were in the habit of sending their sons to England to be educated. This had been done in the case of George Washington's elder half-brothers, but whether because she was so fond of him as to object to his leaving her, or whether for some other reason, Mrs. Washington decided that she

would keep George at home. He was sent first to a little school kept by a man by the name of Hobby, who was one of his father's tenants, and also the sexton of the parish. He studied here reading, arithmetic, and penmanship. He seems to have shown unusual skill in the last subject, for his books of exercises are still exhibited as examples of neatness and care. After his father's death, George went to live with his half-brother Augustine at the old homestead at Pope's Creek. Here he attended a school kept by a Mr. Williams, and studied, in addition to the subjects he had previously pursued, book-keeping, geometry, and surveying.

During his school days he was fond of all sorts of athletic sports. He played soldier, loved to run, jump, and wrestle; he was known early as a bold and skilful horse-back rider, and though he wished always to be the leader in whatever sport he was engaged, his reputation for truth and fairness made him a popular one. Before he finished his school life, which closed in his sixteenth year, it was thought to send him to the English navy. A midshipman's warrant was obtained for him, but Mrs. Washington could not bring herself to consent, and the plan was abandoned.

On leaving school Washington went to live with his brother Lawrence, who had just bought a place on Hunting Creek, to which he had given the name of Mount Vernon, in honor of his friend, Admiral Vernon. Lawrence Washington had married the daughter of Mr. William Fairfax, a near relative of Lord Fairfax. Lord Fairfax had large estates in Virginia, and it was necessary that these should be surveyed. He became much interested in Washington, and finally employed him to look after the work of surveying his land. It was not an easy task for a sixteen-year-old boy, for there were both dangers to be met and hardships to be endured. He suggests some of these in a letter which he wrote to a friend. He says: "Since you received my letter of *October last*, I have not slept above three or four nights

in a bed; but after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bear-skin,—whichsoever was to be had,—with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire. . . . I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericksburg.” For three years he stuck to this work, and obtained a commission as a public surveyor, which made it possible for him to enter his surveys in the county offices as legally valid.

His experience on the frontier had given him an interest in military affairs. The French and the Indians were becoming restless, and the colonists thought best to prepare for emergencies. The province of Virginia was therefore divided into several military districts, and in one of these Washington received the appointment of adjutant-general, with the rank of major. His work was to inspect and exercise the militia, and to train them for actual service. Before he had begun this service, however, he was compelled to go with his brother Lawrence to the West Indies in the hope that his brother's health might be benefited. He remained here four months, during which time he had an attack of smallpox. In the summer of 1752 Lawrence Washington returned, and soon after died, leaving George as one of his executors. Governor Dinwiddie renewed his appointment as adjutant-general, and gave him charge of one of the large military divisions of the colony.

War between France and England was now most likely to occur; the French were establishing posts everywhere along the Ohio. Governor Dinwiddie determined to send a remonstrance to the commander of the French, to ask his purposes, and to find out by what authority he was invading the English territory. It was no easy matter, however, to find a messenger. The distance to be travelled was nearly six hundred miles, and it was a journey beset with the greatest dangers. There were no roads, and the

route led over mountains, across rivers, and through the territory of savage tribes. Those to whom Governor Dinwiddie first proposed the service refused to accept it, but Washington did not hesitate. He set out the last day of November, 1753, and was absent about six weeks, having endured all sorts of dangers and privations. He delivered to Governor Dinwiddie the reply of the French commander, and in addition furnished him with other valuable information.

In the war which soon followed, Washington had a leading part. By the death of Colonel Fry, he was left in full command of the first expedition which set out against the French, and which in May, 1754, resulted in the battle of Great Meadows. When General Braddock was sent over by England in 1755, Washington accepted a place on his staff. General Braddock did not see fit to follow the advice which the young American gave him, and his defeat and death at the battle of the Monongahela are no doubt attributable to this fact. Washington is said at this battle to have shown "the greatest courage and resolution." On his return from the expedition he was put in command of a force of two thousand troops raised by the order of the Virginia Assembly. He resigned his commission before the end of the war, and returned to private life.

He was married in January, 1759, to Mrs. Martha Custis, a young widow about his own age, whom he had recently met. She was the mother of two children, a boy and a girl, and possessed, in her own right, what was then considered a large fortune. With his family he took up his residence at Mount Vernon, which had come into his possession by the death of his niece, and spent his time for the next fifteen years in looking after his estates, and in attending to his duties as a member of the House of Burgesses, to which he had been elected. These years were quiet ones, but they helped to fit him for the great work which he was later to take up.

In 1774 he was elected a delegate to the first Con-

tinental Congress, and went to Philadelphia on horseback in company with Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton. In speaking of this meeting afterwards, Patrick Henry said of Washington that in his judgment and information he was "unquestionably the greatest man on that floor." He was also a delegate to the second Continental Congress, and at this meeting was elected commander-in-chief of all the Continental forces. He accepted this appointment with great modesty and reluctance, and refused for his services any pay except such as would meet his bare expenses. His commission was agreed upon by Congress on June 17, the day of the battle of Bunker Hill. Washington set out at once, and arrived at Boston July 2. He established his headquarters in the old mansion now known as the Longfellow house, and took command of the army on July 3. The conditions under which he was to work were most difficult. He had to organize and train an army, raise supplies, and all of this without money or support. What he accomplished was little less than miraculous. It is impossible in so brief a sketch as this to go into the details of the Revolution; it is equally unnecessary, for they are well known by every school child. It may be said of his command and conduct of the war as Frederick the Great said of his movements on the Delaware, that they were "the most brilliant achievements recorded in military annals." He showed skill, perseverance, endurance, courage, and wisdom of the highest order. Defeat did not daunt him, nor success make him over-confident. When at the end of the long, cruel struggle he stood on the field of Yorktown and received the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his forces, he had well earned the right to be called "the greatest American."

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis did not, however, put an end to difficulties. There was much discontent in the army with regard to arrearages which there seemed little certainty that Congress could or would pay. For a time an insurrection and bloodshed seemed imminent. At

the critical moment, however, Washington came into the meeting of remonstrance which was being held, and in a forcible paper completely changed the attitude of the discontented ones. One who was present said after hearing the address, "Every doubt was dispelled, and the tide of patriotism rolled again in its wonted course." The treaty of peace was signed on January 20, 1783; on the 2d of November, Washington took leave of his army, resigning his commission as commander-in-chief on December 23. He went at once to Mount Vernon, which he had visited but twice during the long struggle, and passed a happy Christmas with his family.

The country was still in a very unsettled condition. There was no strong central government, and everywhere there were signs of internal rebellion. A Federal Convention was held in Philadelphia in 1787 to outline a plan of government. Of this convention Washington was elected president. The great work of framing the Constitution of the United States was accomplished at this meeting, which remained in session four months. It was necessary that this document should be ratified by at least two-thirds of the states concerned, and this was not done until the summer of 1788. In the election which followed the ratification of the Constitution, Washington was unanimously chosen the first President of the United States. It was intended that the new Constitution should go into operation on March 4, 1789, but the new Congress was so tardy in coming together, and in counting the electoral votes, that it was not until April 30 that Washington took the oath of office. No other man could have pleased the people so fully. They were assured of his integrity, of his firmness of purpose, and of his wisdom. Then, as now, he was "first in the hearts of his fellow citizens."

In nothing else did he show his broadmindedness and wisdom more than in the selection of his first cabinet. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was made Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-

General; Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; and John Jay, Chief Justice. With such a cabinet it was possible for him to do much. National credit was established, a bill for the raising of revenues was adopted, a national bank incorporated, the Supreme Court of the United States organized, and important amendments to the Constitution framed. It was Washington's desire at the end of his term of office to retire from public service, but the whole country, including even those who differed radically from him in politics, would not hear of it. He could not resist the appeals and again became a candidate. The second term of his administration, upon which he entered in 1793, was a stormy one, and it was with no little pleasure that he saw it draw to a close. His farewell address, prepared after consultation with Madison and Hamilton, was a matter of serious consideration in his mind for some time, and was written some months before it was delivered.

Soon after the inauguration of Adams on March 4, 1797, Washington returned to his home at Mount Vernon. He had passed through eight years of severe public service; he was now sixty-five years old; and he felt that he was no longer able to endure the strain under which he had labored. Yet he was not to be allowed to live in quiet. Grave difficulties arose with France, and for a time war seemed certain. It was thought best by Congress to raise an army. Washington was at once urged to become its leader, and he felt that he could do nothing but accept. On July 3, 1798, he received his commission as "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, in the United States." He began at once to make preparations for war, but the two countries fortunately settled their difficulties, and the war was averted. Washington did not live to see a treaty of peace signed. Early in December, 1799, while riding about his estate, he contracted a severe cold. He was taken seriously ill, and the end came on December 14. He was buried at Mount Vernon on December 18, where *his body still lies.*

In personal appearance Washington was no ordinary man. He was straight, muscular, and about six feet, two inches tall. From his early manhood he was fond of the most vigorous athletic sports. The strength of his arm and the size of his hand were unusual, and his power of endurance was very great. He had blue eyes, a florid complexion, and heavy brown hair, which, according to the custom of the day, he kept powdered. He was on all occasions careful in his dress and courteous in his manners. In his social relations he was reserved and dignified.

In the case of a man idealized as Washington has been, it is not easy to give a just estimate of character. In late years, though we do not think him less great, we have come to look upon him as possessing more of the ordinary human characteristics than our fathers accorded to him. *It is pretty certain that he had an ardent temper which it was necessary for him to learn to control, and this occasionally led him to speak forcibly.* When this has been said, we have counted the list of his weaknesses. In his home life he was careful, methodical, and considerate of all. Though he was a slave holder, he did not believe in the institution. In a letter to a friend he said, "There is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery." In his will he provided that on the death of Mrs. Washington all the slaves he owned should receive their freedom. All that had to do with the management of his estate showed the greatest thoughtfulness and good sense. As a military general he exhibited courage, fearlessness, skill, and judgment that place him among the great military leaders of the world. He was modest, generous, and self-sacrificing. For his services as commander-in-chief of the Continental armies he would never accept a cent beyond his bare expenses. Not even his enemies, if there were such, ever doubted his integrity. His patriotism, his unselfishness, his loyalty to the highest principles, and his devotion to his family, to his country, and to God, give him a place *among "the greatest of good men and the best of great men."*

II

It may be helpful to the student of the Farewell Address to know something of its history and the conditions under which it was written. A good deal of discussion has arisen with reference to the authorship of the address, and as to just how much of it can be justly attributed to Washington.

Near the close of his first term of office, Washington felt strongly that he did not care for reelection. He had been for nearly twenty years in the public service, and he wished very much for the quiet of his own home. In view of the fact that he expected to go out of office, he began to consider the subject of a farewell address to the people. He and Madison were at this time close friends, and he naturally consulted him as to the character and substance of the address. After attempting to persuade the President not to decline renomination, Madison sent him a rough draft of an address which contained the subject matter suggested to him by President Washington in the correspondence which they had had. When Washington later decided that he would become a candidate for renomination, the subject of the Farewell Address was for the time dropped. In 1796, having made up his mind positively that he would not accept renomination, he again began to consider the subject of a farewell address. He and Madison were not at this time on the same confidential terms as they had been four years previously, and he now asked Hamilton to advise him. Before doing this he had prepared a few preliminary sentences which he prefixed to the original draft sent him by Madison, and this was followed by suggestions put down without much regard for form or care in arrangement. On presenting this paper to Hamilton for his advice, the President requested that he would "redress" it, and if it seemed better, to "throw the whole into a new form," keeping, of course, the ideas as they

had been presented in the original paper. Hamilton did reorganize the form entirely. This new form pleased the President, and after very carefully going over it, he published it as we now have it, September 19, 1796. As to how much of the mechanical execution of the address may be attributed to Madison, how much to Hamilton, and how much to Washington himself, we are not likely ever definitely to settle. Nor does this fact make any great difference. Whoever may have been responsible for arranging them and getting them into the best form, there is no doubt that the ideas in the address are Washington's.

The conditions under which the government of the United States existed during the administration were critical indeed. The whole scheme was in many ways an experiment. There was little or no precedent by which the leaders might be guided, and even the people themselves were not unanimous in thinking that the Constitution which had been adopted was the best that could be devised. Many of the most intelligent people both in Europe and America seriously doubted whether or not the Federal Union could long exist. The people had not yet become real Americans, but were still Europeans in their feelings and sympathies. Grave difficulties had arisen with France which were even then threatening war; party differences were growing intense; the commercial relations with European countries were unsettled; and sectional animosities were being stirred up. The Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794 was only an indication of the general feeling extant against the regulations of the government. The whole scheme of government was new, and the people were not willing to give it a sufficient trial, but wanted at once to change to something else. What was most needed was a wise administration of the laws then in existence, and a strong, firm determination on the part of all sections and interests to pull together. It was under such conditions as these that Washington *framed his Farewell Address*.

The purpose of the address was to appeal to the better judgment of the people, so that they might act in the situation in which they found themselves, thoughtfully, deliberately, reasonably; so that they might exercise patience and keep in mind the best interests of the nation. The style of the address is admirably suited to this purpose. It is dignified, and somewhat over-formal perhaps, but one would expect this if it was to be in harmony with the character of Washington. "My wish is that the whole may appear in a plain style; and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple garb," he wrote to Hamilton with reference to the address, and these few words well characterize the style. Clearness, simplicity, and force are its strong qualities. Few notes are necessary to the perfect understanding of it; there is a homeliness and a directness which appeal to us even to-day, far removed as we are from the conditions which then existed. It holds the attention and arouses interest, and the modest close leaves with the reader the highest respect for George Washington.

**WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES**

WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

FRIENDS, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a Citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. 5 10

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both. 15 20

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much 25

earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the
5 last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the
10 idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be
15 retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In
20 the discharge of this trust I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of
25 my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as
30 it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

35 In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of *that debt of gratitude* which I owe to my beloved coun-

try,—for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness 5 unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the Passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst 10 appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by 15 which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of 20 your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made 25 complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop.—But a solicitude for 30 your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result 35 of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you

with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent
5 reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

10 The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very
15 Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth;—as this is the point in your political fortress
20 against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual hap-
25 piness;—that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest
30 even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

35 For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest.—Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections.
—*The name of* AMERICAN which belongs to you, in your

national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations.—With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits, and political Principles.—You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together.—The Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, —of common dangers, sufferings, and successes. 5

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole. 10

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated;—and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. 20
The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort,—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community 25 30

of interest as *one Nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be
5 intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our Country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less
10 frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments; which
15 their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military
20 establishments which, under any form of Government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought
25 to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt whether a common government
30 can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it.—To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal.—We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford
35 a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while *experience* shall not have demonstrated its impractica-

bility, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. —You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicious propagation among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *MISSISSIPPI*.—They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our Foreign Relations, towards confirming their prosperity.—Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *UNION* by which they were procured?—Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with Aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions

and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your
5 former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its
10 powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental
15 maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all.
20 The very idea of the power and the right of the People to established Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible
25 character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—
30 to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party;—often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community;—and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and
35 incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may

now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion. 5

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. 10 In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments as of other human institutions,—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a Country,—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion;—and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. 15 Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property. 20 25 30

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of

them on geographical discrimination.—Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally.

- 5 This Spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest
10 rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful
15 despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more
20 able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight),
25 the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public administration.—It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms,
30 kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection.—It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself through the
35 channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are

useful checks upon the Administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the Spirit of Liberty.—This within certain limits is probably true,—and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose,—and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it.—A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which

free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political
5 prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere politician equally with the
10 pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the
15 instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.—Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid
20 us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of
25 Free Government.—Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In
30 proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is,
35 to use it as sparingly as possible,—avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that *timely* disbursements to prepare for danger frequently *prevent much greater* disbursements to repel it,—avoiding

likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue,—that to have Revenue there must be taxes,—that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant,—that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just

and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.—Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject;—at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives.—The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity;—gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of

obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly 5 enlightened and independent Patriot.—How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful 10 nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy 15 of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for 20 one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real Patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; 25 while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *Political* connection as possible. So 30 far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which 35 are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics,

or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one People,
5 under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under
10 the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?
15 —Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground?
—Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

20 'T is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world;—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it,—for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. (I hold the maxim no less applicable
25 to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy.)—I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

30 Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are
35 recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and *impartial hand*:—neither seeking nor granting exclusive *favors or preferences*;—consulting the natural course of

things;—diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing;—establishing with Powers so disposed—in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 't is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another,—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character,—that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'T is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish,—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to You and to the World.—To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, 5 the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, —uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our coun- 10 try, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a Neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

15 The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted 20 by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of 25 peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature 30 its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, 35 I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it *probable* that I may have committed many errors.—*Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to*

avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend.—I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. 5

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free Government,—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers. 10 15

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

NOTES

The Text. This edition is printed from the Lenox reprint of the MS.—“Washington’s Farewell Address to the People of the United States of America. New York. 1850.” Changes are made in spelling and punctuation to approximate modern usage.

The original MS. of the Address is preserved in the Lenox Library, New York City. A photograph of the first page appears elsewhere in this volume.

PAGE 3, LINE 4.—not far distant. The Address appeared in the press on September 19, 1796. The election followed on various days of November of the same year.

3, 8—expression of the public voice. Washington felt that if he were out of the way as a candidate his friends and others would feel more freedom in expressing their real opinions.

4, 1—earlier in my power. He wished very much at the end of his first term of office to retire; but yielded finally to the generally expressed wishes of his friends to become a candidate for the presidency for the second time.

4, 19—on the proper occasion. In his inaugural speech to both Houses of Congress, April 30, 1789.

5, 35—the result of much reflection. Washington had had the Farewell Address in mind for at least five years.

6, 5—a former and not dissimilar occasion. At the close of his first term of office.

6, 27—Palladium. An image of the goddess Pallas. According to a legend of the Greeks the safety of Troy depended upon the preservation of this image. It has come then to mean, as it does here, anything believed or reputed to afford protection and safety.

7, 5—fought and triumphed together. In the War of the Revolution.

8, 19—those overgrown **Military establishments**. European nations then, as now, were possessed of very large standing armies and other military resources.

9, 6—**characterizing parties by Geographical discriminations**. There was a tendency, even in Washington's time, to attempt to show that the interests of one part of the country were in direct opposition to the interests of another, and the various political parties were beginning to make capital out of this idea.

9, 18—a **useful lesson**. A reference to the treaty with Spain of 1795 with regard to the navigation of the Mississippi River; and to John Jay's treaty with Great Britain (1783).

10, 3—**your first essay**. The Articles of Confederation.

14, 28—**promote . . . institutions for . . . knowledge**. Washington believed in the promotion and development of educational institutions. This was more than a mere principle with him, as is shown by the fact that when the State of Virginia, in 1784, in recognition of his services as an explorer and as an officer in the Revolutionary War, presented him with fifty shares in the Potomac Canal Company, valued at \$10,000, and one hundred shares in the James River Canal Company, valued at \$50,000, he would accept the gift only on condition that he might use the proceeds for some public object. The shares in the James River Canal Company he finally gave for the endowment of a college at Lexington, Virginia, which took the name of Washington College. The shares in the Potomac River Canal Company were appropriated for the endowment of a university at the seat of the federal government.

18, 10—the **impossibility of making acquisitions upon us**. A suggestion of the Monroe doctrine which was promulgated a few years later.

18, 23—**Infidelity to existing engagements**. According to the treaty of 1778, the United States was under obligations to defend the French West Indies in case of "defensive war."

20, 2—**Proclamation of the 22nd of April, 1793**. In this proclamation it was declared that the United States would "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers." Though the sympathies of America were naturally with France rather than with Great Britain, the

country could not afford at this time to be entangled in such a war.

21, 11—I anticipate . . . that retreat. George Washington's final years were spent in private life at his home, Mt. Vernon (on the Potomac, fifteen miles below Washington), where on December 14, 1799, he died.

WEBSTER'S ADDRESS

**DELIVERED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE
OF THE**

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

JUNE 17, 1825

CONTENTS

	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	iv
INTRODUCTION:	
DANIEL WEBSTER	v
TEXT. WEBSTER'S BUNKER HILL ORATION	3
NOTES	25

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WEBSTER

EDITIONS :

- "Speeches, Forensic Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster," with a Notice of His Life and Writings. By Edward Everett. Boston, 1851.
- "The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster." The "National Edition." 18 vols. Boston, 1903.
- "Extracts from Speeches, with Biographical and Critical Essay." By Carl Schurz. In Warner's "Library of the World's Best Literature."
- "Great Speeches and Orations." By E. P. Whipple. Annotated school editions. By Horace Scudder, F. N. Scott, W. T. Peck.

LIFE :

- "Life of Daniel Webster." By George Ticknor Curtis. 2 vols. 1869-70.
- "Biographical Memoir of Daniel Webster." By Edward Everett.
- "Daniel Webster and the Sentiment of Union." By John Fiske, in "Essays Historical and Literary."
- "Discourse before the Students and Alumni of Dartmouth College." By Rufus Choate.

CRITICISM :

- "Daniel Webster." Article in "The Encyclopædia Britannica," by Alexander Johnston.
- "Beacon Lights of History," pp. 441-484. By John Lord.
- "Daniel Webster as a Master of English Style." By E. P. Whipple, in "American Literature and Other Papers," pp. 139-233.
- "Critical Essays on the Genius and Writings of Daniel Webster." By James Rees, in his "Beauties of Daniel Webster."

INTRODUCTION

I

DANIEL WEBSTER

DANIEL WEBSTER was born in Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 17, 1782. The Webster family had come to New England early in its history, the first members settling in New Hampshire about 1636. Ebenezer Webster, Daniel's father, was not slow to show his courage and his patriotism. He fought in the French and Indian War, and at its close married and settled down to cultivate a farm. His first wife died in 1774, but he did not wait long before taking another. In less than a year he was married again, this time to a young woman named Abigail Eastman. When the War of the Revolution broke out Ebenezer Webster was among the first to offer his services. He raised a company of two hundred men and marched to Boston. He was in several engagements, and by his courage brought his name to the attention of General Washington.

If to his father Daniel owed his giant's strength, his courage, and his patriotism, he was none the less indebted to his mother for other qualities. She was a woman of strong character, and from her he derived his intellectual vigor, his taste, and his habits of thought.

Daniel's early education was very meagre and scattered. As a young child he formed the habit of reading, and though he may not have read many books he was well acquainted with the "Spectator," Shakespeare, and the Bible. He says of himself that he can not remember the time when he was not able to read the Bible. He began early, also, to read aloud. He gained a local reputation

as a good reader, and used often to delight the neighbors with his ability.

He started to school young, in the little log schoolhouse near his home, but he did not go regularly. The schools were not the best, the sessions were short, and boys too often had to stay at home to help with the farm work, which had to be done even if the school work were neglected.

When Daniel was fourteen years old his father took him to Exeter Academy, where he remained nine months. At the end of this time he spent a few months with Dr. Wood, a minister in Boston, from whom he received private instruction. He then took the examination for entrance to Dartmouth College. Though he passed the examination with some credit, his preparation had been woefully superficial and had given him little mental discipline. He had self-confidence, a good memory, and could cram facts with little difficulty; of hard, regular study he knew almost nothing. He taught school just before entering college, and later also during one of his vacations, to earn money to help defray his college expenses. For his services he received at first four dollars a month and later six.

When he entered college in 1797 he was a tall, awkward, ill-dressed youth who promised to become a physical giant. He had a wonderfully strong, musical voice, a huge head disproportionate to the size of his body, and large, bright, hollow black eyes that earned for him the name of "All Eyes." From the first he was wont to estimate his own worth at its full value; he was in no sense over-modest, and if his classmates recognized him as first, he was quite as willing to vote himself the honor. As a college student he was scarcely ever known to work hard; he read widely, but not deeply, and he studied only such things as he liked. His phenomenal memory helped him to get credit for everything that he knew. He attained some distinction while in college both as *a speaker and as a writer*. He was fond of athletic

sports, was at one time editor of his college paper, the first one ever published in America, and in this some of his compositions appeared. His style at this time was no better than that of the average college student. It was full of big words and high-sounding phrases, with none of the simplicity and force that characterized his more mature productions. It is interesting in comparing the oration which he delivered at Hanover, New Hampshire, on July 4, 1800, at the end of his junior year in college, with any of the speeches by which he is best known, to see how completely his literary style changed. In his first writing he was bombastic and inflated, but he later learned the value of the simple word and the direct statement.

He graduated from Dartmouth College in August, 1801. It was his desire immediately to begin the study of law, but he felt that he was under obligations to his brother Ezekiel, who had up to this time remained at home and helped on the farm, and who now himself wished to enter college. In order that he might help Ezekiel, Daniel taught school for two or three winters, and sent what money he could to his brother. At the end of his teaching experience he went to Boston, where he had the good fortune to get into the office of Christopher Gore, one of the most noted lawyers in New England. In Mr. Gore's office he had an opportunity to study, and to meet men of the widest experience and of the broadest training.

He was admitted to the bar in 1805, and began his practice in the little town of Boscawen. About all he got here was experience, for he could do little more than earn a bare living. His father died in 1806, and the next year Webster moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He met in Portsmouth, Jeremiah Mason, one of the keenest lawyers of his time, and from him he learned much. Mason was a simple, plain-spoken, blunt, practical man, and a logical thinker, who wielded a remarkable power over a jury. Nothing could have been of greater benefit to Webster, with his self-confidence and inflated oratory, than to

come into close contact with such a man. They had many a hard battle at first, but Webster was stimulated to do his best, and to change his methods, and they soon became close personal friends.

In 1808 he was married to Miss Grace Fletcher, the daughter of a minister of Hopkinton. They were extremely congenial, and lived together happily for twenty years. She was a gentle, quiet woman, with an influence over her husband which softened many of the harsher traits of his disposition. After her death in 1828 he seemed never quite the same man as he had been before.

During his life at Portsmouth he spoke a great deal, and this fact drew the attention of public men to him. In 1815 he was elected to Congress. Here naturally he met a great many prominent men in the House of Representatives, among whom were Clay and Calhoun. He made his way rapidly, and was soon one of the acknowledged leaders of the House. In 1816 he took up his residence in Boston, where he became known as the leading lawyer in Massachusetts. During his first years here he made two great speeches,—the one on the Dartmouth College Case, and the other the Plymouth Oration. This last speech was at once published throughout the entire country, and everywhere Webster was recognized as a great man. John Adams said of the speech: "If there be an American who can read it without tears, I am not that American. It enters more fully into the genuine spirit of New England than any production I have ever heard."

He was again elected to Congress in 1822, where he served six years. These six years were among the most successful and influential of his life. It was during this term of office that the Bunker Hill Oration was delivered. He was made senator in 1827, though somewhat against his will. The Reply to Hayne, which many critics have pronounced the best oration in the English language, was delivered in the Senate, January 26, 1830. A few days before this time General Hayne, of South Carolina, had made a strong speech in which he upheld the doctrine of

nullification for the Southern States of the tariff laws passed in 1828. Webster spoke in reply to this speech and was answered by General Hayne. It was in reply to this second speech that Mr. Webster delivered the speech known as the Reply to Hayne:

His second marriage occurred in 1829 to Miss Caroline LeRoy, of New York. As he became older his character seemed to change. He grew less simple in his way of living, and more affected in manner. He entered vigorously into political life, and this fact tended to make him more selfish and to develop in him habits of dissipation. He had high personal ambitions; most of all he desired to be President of the United States, and even his friends sometimes thought him not free from trickery in trying to secure his desires. With all his faults, however, he was a great man, and he did more than any other man to spread the doctrine of the indissoluble union of the United States. He has been well named the Great Defender of the Union.

He was appointed Secretary of State in 1841, and showed the greatest ability in solving the difficult problems which came to him. He resigned from President Tyler's cabinet in 1843, and reëntered the Senate two years later. In 1848 he made a strong fight for the nomination to the presidency. His defeat was a great blow to his pride. His action during the next few years has been much criticised, and perhaps never fully understood. His speech in the Senate on the 7th of March, 1850, was one of the greatest of his life. It was disapproved of by almost the entire North, who thought he was advocating slavery, of which he had previously been the strongest opponent. Whether he honestly changed his opinions, or whether he adopted new principles in order to gain popularity, not all are agreed.

In 1850 he was appointed Secretary of State by President Fillmore. His ambitions for the presidency were not yet satisfied, however, and he made another attempt to secure the nomination as the candidate of the Whig party. This time he had been sure of success, and his failure was

the bitterest disappointment he had ever received. The people admired him as an orator, but they did not want him for President. He was no longer a young man, the political campaign through which he had gone had been a trying one; he had suffered a severe accident in May, 1852, and all these proved too much for his failing strength. He grew weaker gradually during the summer, and died at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852.

As a man Webster was not above criticism; as an orator and as a statesman he has never had a peer in the United States. In considering his literary style one can not fail to notice the training he received both as a boy and as a man which helped to develop in him the strongest qualities. He did not have at his disposal the large variety of books that is now within reach of almost every school-boy, but what he did have were the best, and these he knew thoroughly. Shakespeare, the "Spectator," the Bible, are no mean foundation upon which to build an effective vocabulary.

The practice of reading aloud, for which "Webster's boy" was noted throughout the neighborhood in which he lived, played no small part in teaching him the value of words in spoken discourse. Any one who would to-day learn the art of effective speech may well give careful attention to reading aloud.

All through his college course Webster took advantage of every opportunity to perfect himself, both in writing and in speaking. He trained himself as well as he could in all the artifices of gesture, and posture, and voice, and these all in the end contributed to his success as a public speaker. It is true that at first he gave more attention to sound than to sense, that his words were too pretentious for his thoughts, and that he was sophomoric and ineffective; but in time he learned better. Perhaps more than any other profession, the law brings a man directly into contact with other men, and he must meet them on an equal footing. Bombast, the tricks of rhetoric, false

reasoning, will count him nothing; there must be substance to what he says if he would move, and it must be said simply, directly, forcibly. If Webster had never known this before, he learned it when he met Jeremiah Mason in legal battle, and he learned it well. He was ambitious; he wished very much to succeed, and he saw that if he would do so he must change.

He dropped at once his inflated style; he learned to choose simple, strong, familiar words; he adopted a direct, specific method of speech, and he introduced into his discourse variety of structure, and a wealth of homely, forcible illustrations. More than this he threw all his personality and the strength of his feeling into his speech; he acquired the habit of studying men, of learning their moods, and of adapting what he had to say to the individual. Nature had given him more than ordinary talent, but it was not on account of this alone, but because he developed his powers, because he discovered his weaknesses, and because he gave his attention to the study both of words and of men, that he became a great orator.

II

IN order intelligently to read the Bunker Hill Oration it may be desirable first to know something of the speaker, the conditions under which the oration was delivered, and the purpose it was supposed to subserve.

Webster was, in 1826, one of the best known public men in Massachusetts. He had not only attained prominence as a lawyer and as a statesman, but he had gained a wide reputation as an effective public speaker. His father's connection with the Revolution, his own familiarity with the scenes and the characters of the battle, gave him more than ordinary interest in the event which was to be commemorated. He was also a prominent member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association which had been formed in 1823 for the purpose of erecting at Bunker

Hill some fitting memorial of the battle, and he had the honor to be the second president of the Association. His commanding figure, his deep, powerful voice, and above all, his intense feeling gave to his words a force and an effect never to be forgotten by those who heard him.

The conditions under which the oration was delivered were unusual. The ceremonies were performed on the spot where the battle occurred. There were present besides the thousands of people gathered from all parts of New England, many prominent fraternities and societies, General Lafayette, the brave Frenchman who had served the Colonies so gallantly, and two hundred veterans of the War of the Revolution, forty of whom were survivors of the battle. It was a touching and an imposing sight to see these aged men, many of them showing the marks of battle, and some dressed in the uniforms which they had worn fifty years before.

The purpose of the oration was largely an appeal to the emotions, with the purpose of influencing the will, and Webster himself strikes the key-note when he says: "In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction and power, we are brought together in this place by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion." It was these emotions which Webster wished to arouse in the breasts of those who listened to him upon that memorable day, in order that he might stimulate them to the action indicated in the last paragraph of the oration, and it is the stimulation to such emotion and to such action that the study of the oration to-day should lead. "But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in

our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

The character of Webster's style has previously been referred to. His vocabulary was strongly Saxon, influenced no doubt by his early reading of the Bible and Shakespeare, and by his habit of committing these to memory. In his youth he had not learned the simplicity and force which he afterward attained. His style was inflated and bombastic; he was fond of big words and of high-sounding phrases that in reality meant nothing. He soon learned, however, to observe other men and to adapt what was best in their style and method to his own use. He was especially interested in Jeremiah Mason, and he watched Mason's direct, conversational method, and saw how effective it was. "This led me," he says, "to examine my own style, and I set about reforming it altogether." The results of this reform were shown in many ways in his maturer expression.

The simplicity and clearness which characterize Webster's style result first, perhaps, from his choice of words. He is always exact and careful, never using a word that does not fully express his meaning, and never using a big word when a smaller one will do as well. His illustrations are always homely and vivid. His organization, also, adds much to his clearness. No matter how long and complicated his chain of reasoning may be, the organization of his ideas is so logical and so coherent that the reader is able easily to follow. There is seldom any doubt as to his meaning. Whatever he said he felt strongly. He spoke to men as face to face with an individual,—frankly and directly; appealing to their common sense and to their common emotions. No matter how strongly he felt, however, and the times in which he lived were times of strong feeling, there was a dignity and a grandeur, a self-restraint, and a moderation in his speech that carried with them powerful force and conviction. The effectiveness of his style is influenced as much by the character of his sentence structure as by anything else. When he wishes to

INTRODUCTION

EDITIO

"Sp.

Da

By

"Th

"S

"Ext

Es

Wo

"Gr

An

Sec

LIFE :

"Lif

vol

"Bio

Ev

"Da

Fi

"Di

Col

CRITICI

"Da

nic

"Be

"Da

Wi

13

"C

W

W

fr

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE
OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

THIS uncounted multitude before me, and around me, proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and, from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven, in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts. 5

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natu- 20

ral, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God
5 allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be
10 still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great Discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man
15 sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and
20 ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by
25 colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the
30 world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea
35 continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. *No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the*

nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

THE Society, whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known, to all future times. We know

that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters
5 and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a
10 constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted not misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper
15 springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may
20 rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans,
25 to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may pro-
30 claim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor
35 may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon *us also*, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hither-

ward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. 5 We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest 10 light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish 15 centuries are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been 20 achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment shall have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should 25 have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve; the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry; and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of 30 those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies which take no law from superior force; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual 35 respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by

a mighty Revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for
5 ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and Colonies have sprung up to be Nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this
10 continent, from the place where we stand to the South Pole, is annihilated for ever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in
15 letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed
20 from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New
25 England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

VENERABLE MEN! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened
30 out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads;
35 the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from

burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant 5 to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with 10 unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with an universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, 15 and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to 20 partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword 25 have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance, and your own bright example. But let us 30 not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of 35 Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

“another morn,
Risen on mid-noon;”—

and the sky, on which you closed your eyes, was cloudless.

But, ah! Him! the first great Martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage!—how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! —Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

BUT the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary Army.

VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of

old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of an universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

THE occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the Act for altering the Government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the Port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the other Colonies would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere

spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage, which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns, would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, and in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the Port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to those assurances; and in an address to the

Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to 5 be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner 10 spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,—

"Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet." 15

War on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations 20 of life were abandoned; the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both 25 they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that, whatsoever, whensoever, or howso- 30 ever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men."

The 17th of June saw the four New England Colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of 35 the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever,—one cause, one country, one heart.

The Battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of
5 proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general
10 consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of
15 argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the
20 ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that
25 if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the
30 field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame
35 of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

SIR, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment

of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration. 5

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you, and yours, forever. 10 15 20 25 30

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other 35

occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We
5 would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. "*Serius in coelum redeas.*" Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

10 THE leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to
15 consider, not what has been done in our country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like
20 vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

25 A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity
30 of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy
35 of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great *chord of sentiment* and feeling runs through two conti-

nents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the progress by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors, or fellow-workers, on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn, for a moment, to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during

the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and
5 resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at
10 length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that,
15 from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

20 The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity;
25 till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how
30 fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising
35 a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our *Colonial assemblies*. They were accustomed to repre-

sentative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little danger in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the masterwork of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so

much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the Representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the State," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the State; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:—

"Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore;
Give me TO SEE,—and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars, to maintain family alliances, to uphold or cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, *which have occupied so much room in the history of*

modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force; and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greece at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the

ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half century, we must
5 reckon, certainly, the Revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that Revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubt-
10 less, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of govern-
15 ment, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provision for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They al-
20 ready furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in
25 the intercourse of nations. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential im-
30 provement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down
35 by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The Southern Hemisphere emerges from the sea. *Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the*

light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

AND now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the Representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be claimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the

better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The principle of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is
5 bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now
10 descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for Independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and
15 other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age
20 be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may
25 not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country.
30 Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our idea over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country
35 itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze, with admiration,
forever!

NOTES

The Text. Webster's Address at the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill monument was delivered at the site, June 17, 1825.

It was published immediately afterwards in Boston by Cummings, Hilliard, and Company, the title of the book being registered at the district clerk's office, June 21, 1825, by the publishers.

It was reprinted several times that same year. The first, second, third, and fifth editions are identical, except that after the first edition the number of the edition is indicated below the author's name on the title page. A pamphlet edition was published in Boston, 1843, by Tappan and Dennet. It is a poor affair in type and paper, and has, except for fewer capitals, the text of 1825.

In 1851 a collected edition of Webster's speeches was published by Little and Brown with this dedication:—

Dedication of the first volume to my nieces Mrs. Alice Bridge Whipple, and Mrs. Mary Ann Sanborn:

Many of the speeches contained in this volume were delivered and printed in the lifetime of your father, whose fraternal affection led him to speak of them with approbation.

His death, which happened when he had only just past the middle period of life, left you without a father, and me without a brother.

I dedicate this volume to you, not only for the love I have for yourselves, but also as a tribute of affection to his memory and from a desire that the name of my brother, Ezekiel Webster, may be associated with mine, so long as anything written or spoken by me shall be regarded or read.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The text of the first Bunker Hill Address, here printed,

follows the text of the collected edition, with slight variations of punctuation in accordance with modern usage.

The best edition of Webster's works is "The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster. In eighteen volumes. National Edition. Illustrated with Portraits and Plates." Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.; New York: J. F. Taylor and Co. 1903.

PAGE 3, LINE 1.—This uncounted multitude. Thousands of people were in attendance at the exercises. All of the New England and Middle States as well as some others were represented by delegations.

4, 9—It would be . . . unnatural. This read in all early editions, "It is more impossible."

4, 35—another early and ancient Colony. A reference to the settlement of Maryland, in 1634.

5, 12—The Society, whose organ I am. The Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which Mr. Webster was then president.

5, 21—With solemnities suited to the occasion. The Masonic order had charge of the ceremonies. There was also an ode by the Reverend John Pierpont, and the prayer was offered by the Reverend Joseph Thaxter, chaplain in Colonel Prescott's regiment at the time of the battle fifty years before.

6, 28—the first great battle. Lexington and Ticonderoga were before it.

7, 2—are still strong. This read in all early edd., "still stand strong."

7, 9—Let it rise! In all early edd. this sentence is not repeated.

7, 13—We live in a most extraordinary age. A statement more completely true of the present time than of the time when Webster was speaking. The "two or three millions" have now been augmented to probably eighty millions, and commerce and revenues have increased proportionately.

8, 1—a mighty revolution. The French Revolution.

8, 9—The dominion of European power is annihilated forever. A reference to the Monroe Doctrine which everyone who heard Mr. Webster would readily understand.

8, 28—**Venerable men.** A direct address to the survivors of the battle who were present.

9, 8—**yonder metropolis.** Charlestown.

9, 14—**Yonder proud ships.** The United States Navy Yard at Charlestown is at the foot of Bunker Hill.

9, 20—in the grave. In all early edd., “in the grave forever.”

9, 26—**Prescott, Putnam, etc.** Colonel William Prescott was in command of the fort. Each of the others was in some way prominently connected with the battle.

9, 37—**Another morn, risen on mid-noon.** Milton’s “Paradise Lost,” Bk. V, ll. 310, 311.

10, 3—the **first great Martyr.** Major General Joseph Warren, killed at the battle of Bunker Hill. He was a graduate of Harvard University, a physician of note, and had endeared himself to all Americans. He had been present at the battle of Lexington, and at the time of his death was President of the Provincial Congress.

10, 27—**Veterans.** An address to the two hundred who were present.

11, 7—**present themselves before you.** In all early edd., “throng to your embraces.”

11, 16—**upon.** In all early edd., “into.”

11, 25—**Massachusetts and the town of Boston.** The Boston Port Bill, passed in 1774, closed that port to all commerce. By another act the seal of the colonial government was transferred to Salem, who refused, however, to accept the honor at the expense of Boston.

11, 35—the **other Colonies.** In all early edd., “the Colonies in general.”

13, 14—**Totamque infusa, etc.** “And a Mind, diffused throughout the members, gives energy to the whole mass, and mingles with the vast body.”—Virgil, *Æneid*, Bk. VI, l. 726.

13, 26—**Quincy.** Josiah Quincy who did great service to the American cause by his speaking and writing.

13, 33—the **four New England Colonies.** Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

14, 17—**Revolutionary state papers.** There were a large number of these papers, but among the most important were: Franklin’s “Report Before the House of Commons,” 1767;

Jonathan Mayhew's "Righteousness of Rebellion"; Samuel Adams's "Papers on the Rights of the Colonies"; James Otis's "Letter to a Noble Lord"; "The Address of Richard Henry Lee"; Patrick Henry's "Speech in the Virginia Convention," 1775; Quincy's "Letters"; and the Declaration of Independence.

14, 29—leave more of their enemies dead, etc. There were about fifteen hundred Americans in this battle against twenty-five hundred British. The list of killed, wounded, and captured comprised 450 on the American side and 1054 on the British. Edward Everett has called this battle the "American Marathon."

14, 33—one who now hears me. Lafayette.

16, 6—*Serus in cœlum redeas*. "Late may you return to heaven."—Horace, Bk. I, Ode II, l. 45.

17, 26—almost incredible use of machinery. In 1825 the use of machinery was trifling as compared with to-day, and yet "labor still finds its occupation and its reward."

18, 2—The nature of civil government . . . investigated. The French Revolution and its attendant circumstances were the cause of great discussion, throughout the world, of problems of government.

18, 18—highly favorable. In all early edd., "greatly beneficial."

18, 22—transferred to the other continent. As seen in the French Revolution.

18, 31—setting. In all early edd., "making."

18, 35—degree. In all early edd., "portion."

20, 1—limited . . . can limit. In all early edd., "ascertained . . . can ascertain."

20, 31—Dispel this cloud, etc. A quotation from Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, Bk. XVII, ll. 715f.

21, 12—struggle of the Greeks. Webster's interest in the revolution in Greece was well known by his hearers. Greek independence was not acknowledged by Turkey until 1829.

21, 28—to a country . . . in fearful contest. Greece.

22, 5—Revolution of South America. The independence of the Spanish colonies in South America had only recently been established. Republican government had been set up

the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are aged 65 and over has increased by 1.5 million, and the number of people aged 75 and over has increased by 1 million (Office of National Statistics 1999). The number of people aged 85 and over has increased by 300,000 in the same period.

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the needs of older people in the community. The Department of Health (1999) has published a strategy for older people, which sets out a vision for the future of older people's health and care. The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the health, participation and security of older people. The strategy aims to ensure that older people are able to live independently, actively and securely in their own homes and communities. The strategy also aims to ensure that older people have access to the services and support they need to live well.

The strategy is based on four key principles: (1) older people should be able to live independently, actively and securely in their own homes and communities; (2) older people should have access to the services and support they need to live well; (3) older people should be able to participate in the life of their communities; and (4) older people should be able to live securely. The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the health, participation and security of older people.

The strategy is based on four key principles: (1) older people should be able to live independently, actively and securely in their own homes and communities; (2) older people should have access to the services and support they need to live well; (3) older people should be able to participate in the life of their communities; and (4) older people should be able to live securely. The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the health, participation and security of older people.

The strategy is based on four key principles: (1) older people should be able to live independently, actively and securely in their own homes and communities; (2) older people should have access to the services and support they need to live well; (3) older people should be able to participate in the life of their communities; and (4) older people should be able to live securely. The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the health, participation and security of older people.

The strategy is based on four key principles: (1) older people should be able to live independently, actively and securely in their own homes and communities; (2) older people should have access to the services and support they need to live well; (3) older people should be able to participate in the life of their communities; and (4) older people should be able to live securely. The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the health, participation and security of older people.

The strategy is based on four key principles: (1) older people should be able to live independently, actively and securely in their own homes and communities; (2) older people should have access to the services and support they need to live well; (3) older people should be able to participate in the life of their communities; and (4) older people should be able to live securely. The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is the process of maintaining and enhancing the health, participation and security of older people.